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Behind the Scenes of
Radio Free Europe

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EDITOR'S NOTE: Imperialism's subversive ideological operations against the socialist countries are the subject of a documentary study recently published in Paris by the French publicist Alain Guérin. Below we publish some interesting excerpts from this book, entitled "The Commandos of the Cold War," including the chapter on Radio Free Europe, whose 28 stations daily poison the air with malicious and slanderous propaganda against Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. They also conduct similarly base propaganda against the U.S.S.R. Who runs these radio stations and what aims do they serve? Alain Guérin presents a clear and objective answer.

THE intricate propaganda machine called Free Europe has many cogs and wheels. Located in the Brienner Strasse in Munich is a branch of the Free Europe Committee that maintains contact with emigrants. In New York's West 57th Street is the Free Europe Committee Publications. Branches of the organization are to be found in certain of the capitals and big cities of Western Europe. For instance, a commercial firm going by the name of Russell J. Hall has its offices in the Dindengasse, in Vienna. Judging from a CTK news agency report of March 4, 1958, this firm is a cover for a Free Europe office directed by an American citizen named Gedye. And in Robertsau, a suburb of Strasbourg, there is a Free Europe College, a private establishment at which notables of the Western Powers have given lectures. Even this brief list gives an idea of the multiplicity and variety of bodies at present existing under the general name of "Free Europe."

What, then, is Free Europe? Let us try to make it out. To start with, let us turn to recent history.

Twenty Years Ago

On June 1, 1949, there was founded in New York the National Committee of a Free Europe, which soon changed its name to Free Europe Committee Incorporated. Its first president was Joseph K. Grew, U.S. ex-ambassador to Japan. Among its members were such American notables as Allen Dulles, then deputy director of the CIA (he later became president of the Committee's executive bureau); ex-ambassador Arthur Bliss Lane (earlier held diplomatic posts in Riga and in Warsaw); former Assistant Secretary of State Adolf Berle; Dawitt C. Poole, formerly a departmental chief in the OSS (the predecessor of the CIA); Lawrence Giannini, president of the Bank of America; Arthur Page, an officer of the Chase National Bank (the Rockefeller group); Frank Altschul, banker (became the treasurer of Free Europe); Generals Lucius D. Clay and Dwight D. Eisenhower. (The latter was replaced by Harold Miller....)

How did the Free Europe Committee define its aims? One of its New York publications, dated February 1951, stated that the National Committee of a Free Europe was a private American organization which concerned itself with the countries of Eastern Europe and that its activities embraced Radio Free Europe, the Mid-European Studies Centre of New York and the Crusade for Freedom, directed by General Lucius D. Clay.

Since its foundation in 1949, its primary object has been to recruit persons prominent in East European emigrant circles, and, of bourgeois-democratic backgrounds, Free Europe painstakingly prepared the ground for close collaboration with such emigrants. The object was not only to unite the political leaders of the emigrants in the full sense of the word but through them to attract well-known personalities of the intellectual and art worlds. Beginning with 1950, contacts with emigrants from Eastern Europe were built up not only within the framework of Radio Free Europe but in other of the Committee's field of activities. That was the case 20 years ago and it remains so to this day.

At a Free Europe conference in Williamsburg, U.S.A., in 1953 the so-called "Williamsburg Declaration" was adopted. The participants in this rally vowed to work for the overthrow of the communist system in the countries of Eastern Europe with the aim of establishing instead political regimes patterned after that of the United States. Sixteen years have passed since then. Though the "liberation" tactic has now been replaced by an "eroding" tactic, the aims of Free Europe and its *raison d'être* have not changed. Its organizational machine continues to follow the track set for it in 1949.

In the twenty years of its existence Free Europe has achieved a high degree of specialization in many fields of propaganda but to this day its radio station remains its core and its symbol, its biggest achievement. Its numerous broadcasts beamed to different countries and its system of communications, considered one of the best in the world, makes it a major factor in the Cold War.

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A book called "The Secret War" came out in France... short biographical foreword... Ladislav Farago, describes follows: "In 1942 I belonged of the American intelligence service and spent nearly four years with it, working in liaison with a similar British organization... After the war I also belonged to a propaganda organization known as Radio Free Europe, where I headed a secret 'Bureau X' for fighting communism behind the Iron Curtain."

Farago writes that Radio Free Europe is a whole network of radio stations maintained by private funds under the administration of the Free Europe Committee. The stations address clarion calls to the countries of Eastern and South-eastern Europe (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania). The aim of the broadcasts is to combat "Red propaganda" within those countries and offer a platform to political defectors.

In his sensational book "The Secret War," the American journalist Sanche de Gramont, describing Radio Free Europe as occupying a group of buildings in the Englischer Garten in the centre of Munich, writes that with its annual budget of \$11 million, made up of voluntary contributions by big corporations like ESSO, Ford or General Motors, and with its staff of 1,300 in Munich alone, Radio Free Europe is as important as certain government radio stations.

The same author relates this incident: In the summer of 1959 the U.S. Ambassador in Warsaw, Jacob Beam, requested the State Department to have Radio Free Europe cease its broadcasts to Poland on the grounds that they were interfering with his work. He explained that since he could not control the station's propaganda broadcasts he often found himself at variance with their "line." He gave it to be understood that his relations with high Polish officials would be less strained and more useful if Radio Free Europe did not trespass on his territory. Secretary of State Christian Herter's comment on this was that he had deep respect for and every confidence in the ambassador but nevertheless valued the efficacy and necessity of the work performed by Radio Free Europe.

In 1960 a Rumanian anti-communist emigrant published a book in Paris under the pen name Söverin, in which he wrote the following about Free Europe:

"This organization maintains a whole network of radio stations for from the East there are four em-

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